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NETWORK

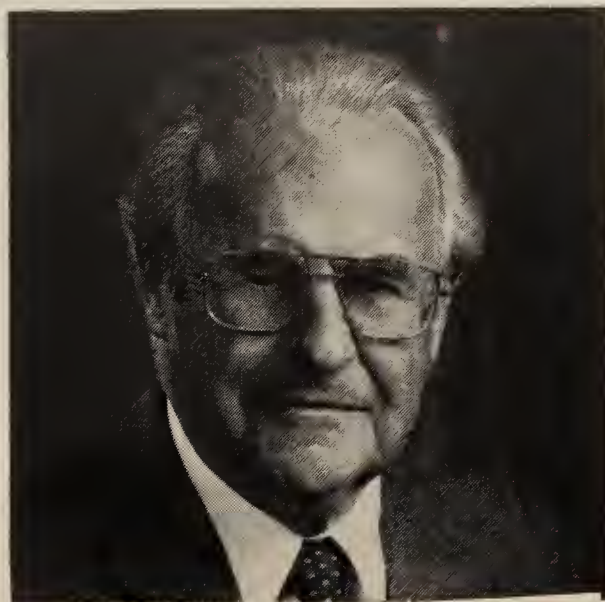
CCH Sponsors Bicentennial Events in Sacramento

On May 28 and 29, 1987 the California Council for the Humanities (CCH) will sponsor a series of events related to the theme of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution: panel discussions, scholarly presentations, and a dramatic performance by Clay Jenkinson appearing as Thomas Jefferson.

May 28 is the Public Humanities Conference and Legislative Reception, a day-long series of events designed to acquaint the public with the CCH grantmaking program and to solicit comments about the program; the events will also present the humanities-oriented Sacramento public with a variety of perspectives on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. The schedule for the day is as follows:

The morning (9 a.m. to 1 p.m.) portion of the program takes place at the Sacramento Convention Center and includes an introduction to the CCH grantmaking program with CCH staff providing information on the grant categories, how to apply, and examples of successful proposals. Over lunch Council members and staff will encourage input on the current CCH grantmaking policies and practices.

A panel discussion by three distinguished labor experts is also part of the morning program. Former Undersecretary of Labor, *John F. Henning*, who is currently the secretary-treasurer of the California Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, will be joined by *Michael Graham*, Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University and *William B. Gould IV*, the Charles A. Beardsley Professor of Law at Stanford Law School. The panel will offer a historical perspective on the Constitution from the trade unions' viewpoint and will discuss the issues and specific legal decisions that affect the labor community.



Frank K. Richardson will speak on "The Constitution: Its History and Changes"

The afternoon program will feature a Legislative Reception held in the Governor's Conference Room at the State Capitol. All Senate and Assembly members and their staff are invited to attend this reception at 1 p.m. The legislators, together with the Public Humanities Conference attendees, will be invited to witness "The Revolutionary Return of Thomas Jefferson," a dramatic performance by *Clay Jenkinson*. Mr. Jenkinson, appearing as Thomas Jefferson, will offer comments and answer questions on the events surrounding the writing and adoption of the Constitution in 1787.

Additional scope to this historic event will then be offered by the Honorable *Frank K. Richardson*, Associate Justice (Retired) of the Supreme Court of California. He will speak on "The Constitution: Its History and Changes."

Questions regarding the public's understanding of the Constitution and the role of the press in covering Constitutional issues will be addressed by *Claire Cooper* of the *Sacramento Bee*. She will be joined at the podium by *Gayle Binion*, Professor of Political Theory, at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and together they will discuss current issues in the news such as the Iran arms scandal as a background for considering how the public learns about the Constitution.

There will be a late afternoon wine and cheese reception following this program.

On May 29 at 8 p.m. a Bicentennial Convocation entitled "The Constitution: Silence, Ambiguity and Vitality" will be held at McGeorge School of Law in Sacramento. The Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, *Lynne V. Cheney*, will provide the opening remarks. The featured speakers will be *James Kettner*, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley; *Sheldon Wolin*, Professor of Political Theory, Princeton University; *John T. Noonan, Jr.*, United States Circuit Court and Professor of Canonical Law, University of California, Berkeley.



John F. Henning of the California Labor Federation will address the Public Humanities Conference on May 28

Each of the speakers will contribute the perspective of his own particular research or area of specialization:

- Dr. Kettner will discuss the question of "original intent" and will point to the plurality of meaning in the Constitution. He sees the Constitution as a structure for containing conflict which can be adjusted by each generation.
- Dr. Wolin will discuss some of the distinctions left unresolved in the Constitution, its "silences" regarding, for example, state vs. society, or democratic vs. republican forms of government. He will also address the theory of the citizen's role implied by the Constitution and offer a tentative conception of citizenship.
- Judge Noonan will speak to the religious clauses in the Constitution. He will explore the uniqueness of the document and discuss the appropriateness of a "church/state" rubric for this country. He will also address areas of controversy existing today.

Each panelist will speak for approximately twenty minutes and then discuss issues and questions among themselves and with members of the audience.

The Convocation is open to the public. There is no admission charge and a reception will follow the program.

For information about the above events, please contact the CCH San Francisco office, (415) 391-1474.

Please note: additional appearances by *Clay Jenkinson* as *Thomas Jefferson* will be arranged for the Sacramento area during the week of May 26 through June 2. For information about this schedule contact *Fred Bremerman* at the *Sacramento History Center*, (916) 449-2057.



John T. Noonan, Jr., will participate in the Bicentennial Convocation on May 29



Gayle Binion will discuss current Constitutional issues at the PHC on May 28

Ukiah Players to Offer "A More Perfect Union" to Sacramento Audiences

A 50-minute original play based on the Constitutional Convention of 1787 will be presented by the Ukiah Players at three locations in Sacramento on May 11, 12 and 13.

The play begins with Shays' Rebellion, then turns to the summer of 1787, when the Founding Fathers debated crucial issues which changed our nation from the Articles of Confederation to the United States Constitution.

"A More Perfect Union" was written by producing-director Catherine Babcock Magruder and members of the Ukiah Players in conjunction with a Constitutional historian, Dr. Dan Markwyn, from Sonoma State University. It has been performed to over 2000 people in Mendocino County through the sponsorship of the Mendocino County Office of Education, and was made possible in part by a grant from the California Council for the Humanities.

"It was the idea of bringing history alive onstage, of educating audiences in an entertaining way" that appealed to Magruder and guest director Timothy Near. In the course of their research the Players came upon some surprising observations. "There was a fugitive slave clause in which slaves had to be returned. There was no mention of what women were doing and what they were allowed to do," Magruder explains.

The play covers the events leading up to the Constitutional Convention and the Convention itself, tracing the development of the nation through its Westward Expansion and exploring the issues of women's rights, slavery, and the treatment of Native Americans. It closes on a series of questions centered on Constitutional issues today. Five actors and actresses portray 15 different characters in the course of the play, in flashbacks that are introduced through music and verse.

"It makes you laugh and it makes you cry," says Ed Nickerman, Assistant Superintendent of the Mendocino County Office of Education which toured the Players to ten sites in 1986.

Three performances are scheduled for the Sacramento area in conjunction with the Public Humanities Conference, Legislative Reception, and Bicentennial Convocation on May 28 and 29, sponsored by the California Council for the Humanities:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| May 11 | California History Day
Sacramento Convention Center
1100 14th Street (at "J")
Contact person: Ms. Roberta Gleeson
Constitutional Rights
Foundation
213/487-5590 |
| May 12 | Sacramento State University
(CSU Sacramento)
Music Recital Hall, 6000 "J" Street
3:30 p.m.
Contact person: Ms. Anne Bridges
Center for California Studies
CSU Sacramento
916/278-6906 |
| May 13 | Sacramento City College
3835 Freeport Boulevard
Contact person: Dean Larry Hendricks
916/449-7386 |



Scene from "A More Perfect Union" by the Ukiah Players Theatre

Toward "A More Perfect Union"

The following excerpt from the script of "A More Perfect Union" is a press conference with reporters interviewing James Madison.

Actor 4: *(to audience)* James Madison was a small, attractive man, no bigger than half a piece of soap.

Actor 2: Virginia landowner, youngest delegate to the Confederation congress, he owned six slaves and was educated at Princeton.

Actor 4: He was balding and combed his hair forward to cover it.

Actor 1: He was very soft-spoken.

Madison: *(starts to speak very softly)*

Actors: Speak up! I can't hear you. What did he say?

Madison: We need a stronger central government.

Actor 3: We already have the Confederation congress.

Actor 2: Why doesn't congress send out a national army?

Madison: You know as well as I, the Confederation congress hasn't the money to pay for a national army. We can't even pay the interest on our national debt. Congress must rely on the contributions of the states. Some send money and some don't. Congress can't force them to do anything.

Actor: Isn't there a bill in congress right now that would require all states to pay a tax?

Madison: Yes, there is. But New York is blocking it, just as Rhode Island has done before.

All: Rhode Island never agrees!

Actor 4: Excuse me, Mr. Madison. What do you see as the biggest problem in America today?

Madison: The biggest problem I see in 1787 is the lack of a strong central government. We now have a government with no independent executive.

Actor 3: Sir, we have just overthrown a king. Why make ourselves another one?

Madison: Well, sir. Let me put it this way. Just look at all the places where the lines are drawn in this country. Between the nation and the 13 states, between each state and its neighbors, between north and south, between the rich, the substantial, the struggling and the poor, between all white men and all Negroes, between those who want a new government and those who are content to drift on indefinitely with the one we have. Well I say, gentlemen of the press, that a nation without a national government is an awful spectacle.

Sherman: Wait a minute! Wait just a damn minute!

All: Roger Sherman!

Actor 4: A self made man.

Actor 1: Property owner, farmer from Connecticut.

Actor 4: Worked his way up from poor stock, self-educated, age 66.

Sherman: Helped draft the Declaration of Independence and was a delegate to the First Confederation Congress. How did I get into this goll dang mess?

Actor 4: He was awkward and unaccountable strange in his manner.

Actor 2: Roger Sherman is as cunning as the devil! If you try to take him in, you might as well try to catch an eel by the tail.

Actor 4: The old puritan is as honest as an angel.

Sherman: *(nose to nose with Madison)* I said hold on, Madison! There's a crowd of people listening here. And although they might be an odd-looking bunch of puddle-ducks, I don't want them thinking that every sensible American in 1787 wants to scrap the Articles of Confederation.

Actor 4: Could you gentlemen let the press in on your conflict?

Sherman: Damn tootin' I will. I say that the Articles of Confederation are my idea of a proper government for America. They may need a few revisions, but . . .

Madison: Good Lord, Sherman. We need the unanimous approval from all 13 states to make any change in the Articles. I cannot think of one instance in Congress where there was unanimous approval. It is not possible.

Sherman: It is not possible to create a central government for this country without eventually destroying the states. America is too big for a national government. The states will lose control.

Madison: That's just it. The states haven't got control now. There is no control! They're laughing at us in Europe—for 10 years we've struggled to form a nation and we cannot let it all collapse now!

Actor 4: What do you intend to do about it, Mr. Madison?

Madison: For the past two years I've been trying to get the states to agree on some kind of uniform system in their trade regulations. I was hoping that our meeting at Annapolis last year would result in an overall system for the country, but only five states sent delegates. Fortunately, Alexander Hamilton was among them and he proposed that we call a meeting in Philadelphia on the second Monday, May next, and *require* the state legislatures to send delegates.

Sherman: I assume this meeting will be for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation?

Madison: Well, yes, Sherman . . . Of course.

Actor 4: Is there any truth to the rumor that the intent of this convention is more than simply revising the Articles?

Madison: No comment.

Actor 4: The second Monday, May next is only two months away. Have the delegates been chosen?

Madison: Eight states have appointed representatives.

Actor 2: Has Mr. Sherman's state chosen delegates yet?

Madison: Connecticut hasn't acted yet. That will be all today, gentlemen. *(Reporters exit; Madison continues talking.)* I'd see about getting appointed, Sherman. I have a feeling this might be a meeting that will make a bit of history.

Sherman: I wouldn't want to spoil my record of being at the right place at the right time. Second Monday May next you say?

Chronology of the Bicentennial Dates from the End of the American Revolution to the Ratification of the Bill of Rights

The Articles of Confederation which were adopted by the Congress on November 15, 1777 and ratified by all thirteen states by March 1, 1781, gave limited powers to the federal government. Congress could declare war and make peace but could not levy taxes, or regulate trade between the states or between any state and a foreign country. All amendments had to be adopted without dissenting votes.

As attempts to amend the Articles proved fruitless, and interstate disputes over commercial matters multiplied, the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation as a fundamental charter became apparent. The march toward a new form of government began.

September 3, 1783: Articles of Peace ending hostilities between Great Britain and the United States are signed in Paris.

March 25–28, 1785: MOUNT VERNON CONFERENCE. George Washington hosts a meeting at Mount Vernon of four commissioners from Maryland and four from Virginia to discuss problems relating to the navigation of the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River.

September 11–14, 1786: ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Virginia send a total of twelve delegates to the conference which had been proposed by Virginia in January to discuss commercial matters. The small attendance makes discussion of commercial matters fruitless. On September 14, the convention adopts a resolution drafted by Alexander Hamilton asking all the states to send representatives to a new convention to be held in Philadelphia in May of 1787. This meeting will not be limited to commercial matters but will address all issues necessary "to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

February 4, 1787: THE END OF SHAYS' REBELLION. A destitute farmer, Daniel Shays, had organized a rebellion against the Massachusetts government, which had failed to take action to assist the state's depressed farm population.

May 25, 1787: OPENING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. On May 25, a quorum of delegates from seven states arrives in Philadelphia in response to the call from the Annapolis Convention. Ultimately, representatives from all the states but Rhode Island attend.

May 29, 1787: VIRGINIA PLAN PROPOSED. Edmund Randolph, a delegate from Virginia, offers 15 resolutions making up the "Virginia Plan" of Union. Rather than amending the Articles of Confederation, the proposal describes a completely new organization of government, including a bicameral legislature which represents the states proportionately, with the lower house elected by the people, and the upper house chosen by the lower body from nominees proposed by the state legislatures; an executive chosen by the legislature; a judiciary branch; and a council composed of the executive and members of the judiciary branch with a veto over legislative enactments.

June 15, 1787: NEW JERSEY PLAN PROPOSED. Displeased by Randolph's plan which placed the smaller states in a disadvantaged position, William Patterson proposes instead only to modify the Articles of Confederation. The New Jersey plan gives Congress power to tax and to regulate foreign and interstate commerce and establishes a plural executive (without veto power) and a supreme court.

June 19, 1787: After debating all the proposals, the Convention decides not merely to amend the Articles of Confederation but to devise a new national government. The

question of equal versus proportional representation by states in the legislature now becomes the focus of the debate.

July 12, 1787: THE CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE (I). Based upon a proposal made by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the Constitutional Convention agrees that representation in the lower house should be proportional to a state's population (the total of free residents, "excluding Indians not taxed," and three-fifths of "all other persons," i.e., slaves).

July 13, 1787: NORTHWEST ORDINANCE. While the Constitutional Convention meets in Philadelphia, the Congress of the Confederation crafts another governing instrument for the territory north of the Ohio River.

July 16, 1787: THE CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE (II). The Convention agrees that each state should be represented equally in the upper chamber.

August 6, 1787: The five-man committee appointed to draft a constitution based upon 23 "fundamental resolutions" drawn up by the convention between July 19 and July 26 submits its document which contains 23 articles.

August 6–September 10, 1787: THE GREAT DEBATE. The Convention debates the draft constitution.

- The Convention grants to Congress the right to regulate foreign trade and interstate commerce.
- The Convention agrees to prohibit Congress from banning the foreign slave trade for twenty years.
- The Convention agrees to the fugitive slave clause.

September 8, 1787: A five-man committee, comprising William Samuel Johnson (chair), Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris, is appointed to prepare the final draft.

September 12, 1787: The committee submits the draft, written primarily by Gouverneur Morris, to the Convention.

September 13–15, 1787: The Convention examines the draft clause by clause and makes a few changes.

September 17, 1787: All twelve state delegations vote approval of the document. Thirty-nine of the forty-two delegates present sign the engrossed copy, and a letter of transmittal to Congress is drafted. The Convention formally adjourns.

September 26–27, 1787: Some representatives seek to have Congress censure the Convention for failing to abide by Congress' instruction only to revise the Articles of Confederation.

September 28, 1787: Congress resolves to submit the Constitution to special state ratifying conventions. Article VII of the document stipulates that it will become effective *when ratified by nine states*.

December 7, 1787: Delaware ratifies the Constitution, the first state to do so, by unanimous vote.

December 12, 1787: Pennsylvania ratifies the Constitution in the face of considerable opposition. The vote in convention is 46 to 23.

December 18, 1787: New Jersey ratifies unanimously.

January 2, 1788: Georgia ratifies unanimously.

January 9, 1788: Connecticut ratifies by a vote of 128 to 40.

February 6, 1788: The Massachusetts convention ratifies by a close vote of 187 to 168, after vigorous debate.

March 24, 1788: Rhode Island, which had refused to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention, declines to call a state convention and holds a popular referendum instead. Federalists do not participate, and the voters reject the Constitution, 2708 to 237.

April 28, 1788: Maryland ratifies by a vote of 63 to 11.

May 23, 1788: South Carolina ratifies by a vote of 149 to 73.

This excerpt from "A More Perfect Union" was reprinted with permission. For further information about performances of "A More Perfect Union," contact Catherine Babcock Magruder, producing director, Ukiah Players, P.O. Box 705, Ukiah, CA 95482. (707) 462-9226.

continued on page 4

June 21, 1788: New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify, by a vote of 57 to 47. The convention proposes twelve amendments.

June 25, 1788: Despite strong opposition led by Patrick Henry, Virginia ratifies the Constitution by 89 to 79. James Madison leads the fight in favor. The convention recommends a bill of rights, composed of twenty articles, in addition to twenty further changes.

July 2, 1788: The President of Congress, Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, announces that the Constitution has been ratified by the requisite nine states. A committee is appointed to prepare for the change in government.

July 26, 1788: New York ratifies by vote of 30 to 27 after Alexander Hamilton delays action, hoping that news of ratification from New Hampshire and Virginia would diminish Anti-Federalist sentiment.

August 2, 1788: North Carolina declines to ratify until the addition to the Constitution of a bill of rights.

September 13, 1788: Congress selects New York as the site of the new government and chooses dates for the appointment of the balloting by presidential electors, and for the meeting of the first Congress under the Constitution.

October 10, 1788: The Congress of the Confederation transacts its last official business.

February 4, 1789: Presidential electors vote; George Washington is chosen as president, and John Adams as vice-president.

March 4, 1789: The first Congress convenes in New York, with eight senators and thirteen representatives in attendance, and the remainder en route.

April 30, 1789: George Washington is inaugurated as the nation's first president under the Constitution.

September 24, 1789: Congress passes the Federal Judiciary Act, which provides for a chief justice and five associate justices of the Supreme Court and which establishes three circuit courts and thirteen district courts. It also creates the office of the Attorney General.

September 25, 1789: Congress submits to the states twelve amendments to the Constitution, in response to the five state ratifying conventions that had emphasized the need for immediate changes.

November 20, 1789: New Jersey ratifies ten of the twelve amendments, the Bill of Rights, the first state to do so.

November 21, 1789: As a result of congressional action to amend the Constitution, North Carolina ratifies the original document by a vote of 194 to 77.

December 1789 to March 1790: Bill of Rights ratified by: Maryland, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, New York and Pennsylvania.

May 29, 1790: Rhode Island ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 34 to 32.

June 7, 1790: Rhode Island ratifies the Bill of Rights.

July 16, 1790: George Washington signs legislation selecting the District of Columbia as the permanent national capital, to be occupied in 1800. Philadelphia will house the government in the intervening decade.

December 6, 1790: All three branches of government assemble in Philadelphia.

March 4, 1791: Vermont is admitted to the Union as the fourteenth state after ratifying the Constitution on January 10.

November 3, 1791: Vermont ratifies the Bill of Rights.

December 15, 1791: Virginia ratifies the Bill of Rights, making it part of the United States Constitution.

Note: Three of the original thirteen states did not ratify the Bill of Rights until the 150th anniversary of its submission to the states. Massachusetts ratified on March 2, 1939; Georgia on March 18, 1939; and Connecticut on April 19, 1939.

This chronology is excerpted from *this Constitution*, winter 1986, no. 13.



A civics and history lesson (Photo by Michael Evans—Children from the Washington International School)

A Selected Bibliography for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution*

Compiled by Kay Roberts for the Bay Area Reference Center, San Francisco Public Library

In the summer of 1787 delegates from the states of the newly independent United States met together to amend the Articles of Confederation, the rules by which they had governed since 1781. The meeting quickly turned into the creation of an entirely new document, which is now the oldest written constitution in effect in the world. The Founding Fathers were hopeful about their summer's work, but even the most optimistic could hardly have predicted the enduring strengths of the document they hammered out over the summer. Benjamin Franklin's famous reply to an anxious query regarding what sort of government they had created was "A Republic, if you can keep it."

The following are some titles selected to help patrons and librarians smarten up about this important subject before September 17, the day the Constitution was signed.

The Constitutional Convention

If one book stands out here, it is certainly Catherine Drinker Bowen's *Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitutional Convention, May to September 1787* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966, \$18.95; \$8.95 pb). She has satisfied both scholarly and general readers with her readable narrative of the events through the summer in Philadelphia which produced the Constitution. Another good choice is *Decision in Philadelphia: The Constitutional Convention of 1787* (NY: Random House/Reader's Digest Pr., 1986, \$19.95) by Christopher Collier, a history professor, and his brother, James Lincoln Collier, a writer. *Library Journal* (v. 111, May 1, 1986, p. 120) highly recommends it as the best popular history of the Convention available. Clinton Rossiter's *1787: The Grand Convention* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1966, o.p.) is recommended as a well-written, scholarly study of the Convention, the delegates, the finished work, and ratification. For someone (a student, perhaps?) looking for a quicker approach, Donald Barr Chidsey's *The Birth of the Constitution: An Informal History* (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1964, o.p.) is brief, chatty, and provides a good introduction for the general reader, with no footnotes or bibliography to slow one down. Another

good choice for a quick introduction is Richard B. Morris' *The Framing of the Federal Constitution* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Handbook 103, S/N 024-005-01000-9, 1986, \$4.75).

In 1913, Charles Austin Beard published the most controversial book written on the making of the Constitution: *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1965, \$10.95 pb). His proposal, that the founders' wealth was in personal rather than real property and that the Constitution they produced was the result of their economic interests in protecting their wealth, was a far different view of the Founding Fathers from the usual picture of selfless idealists. Beard's work initiated a flurry of print on the motivations and intent of the Founding Fathers. Books refuting his thesis include Forrest McDonald's *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Pr., 1976 [c1956], \$14 pb) and Robert E. Brown's *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pr., 1979 [c1956], \$22.50).

The Constitution

And just what did the Founding Fathers produce? Two basic and new sets are recommended by the National Endowment for the Humanities as starting points for a reference collection on the Constitution. The two sets are: *The Founders' Constitution*, 5 volumes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Pr., 1987, \$250 before 3/31/87; \$300 thereafter) edited by Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, and the *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution*, 4 volumes, (New York: Macmillan, 1986, \$320) edited by Leonard W. Levy. There are several brief, useful guides for students of the Constitution. Broadus and Louise Pearson Mitchell's *A Biography of the Constitution of the United States: Its Origin, Formation, Adoption, Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Pr., 2nd ed., 1975, o.p.) covers, as its title indicates, both the framing and later interpretations of the Constitution. Ralph Mitchell's *CQ's Guide to the United States Constitution; History, Text, Index, Glossary* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1986, \$7.95 pb) is another brief history and index to the document. Angela Roddey Holder's *The Meaning of the Constitution* (Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series Inc., 1974 rev. ed., \$5.50 pb) is a good, basic introduction for students. It provides a section-by-section analysis of the Constitution with references to Supreme Court cases and fictitious sample cases of how the Constitution works. For another brief guide to the past, present, and future of the Constitution, steer students to the September 8, 1986 issue of *Scholastic Update*, "How the U.S. Constitution Shapes Your World." The entire issue is devoted to Constitutional issues. Henry Steele Commager has produced a useful introduction for students (grade level 6-10) in *The Great Constitution: A Book for Young Americans* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961, \$7.50). Jack Walter Peltason's *Corwin and Peltason's Understanding the Constitution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 9th ed., 1982, \$18.95 pb) provides fundamental information on interpreting the Constitution. The standard text for more advanced readers is *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York: Norton, 6th ed., 1983, \$22.95 pb) by Alfred H. Kelly, Winifred A. Harbison, and Herman Belz. Gordon S. Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Pr., 1969, \$35; New York: Norton, 1972, \$10.95 pb) is a big, scholarly, important book on the contribution of our Constitution to western political thought. For a more popular approach, try Page Smith's *The Constitution: A Documentary and Narrative History* (New York: Morrow, 1978, \$19.95; \$.95 pb). Smith provides the narrative and includes excerpts from the 1787 debates and significant court cases.

Contemporary Government

Scholars have pondered the Constitution's role in relation to problems of our contemporary government. James L. Sundquist's *Constitutional Reform and Effective Government* (Washington: The Brookings Institute, 1986, \$26.95; \$9.95 pb) describes three fundamental problems: divided control of legislative and executive branches, lack of time between elections for officials to concentrate on government, and the lack of a workable way to replace a failed government. He analyzes proposals for solving these problems. The Committee on the Constitutional System (1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Suite 410, Washington, DC 20036, 202-387-8787) is a non-partisan, non-profit organization devoted to the study and analysis of the Constitution. The committee has published a pamphlet, "A Bicentennial Analysis of the American Political Structure," which suggests various proposals for governmental reform. The committee does not endorse a new Constitutional Convention. *Reforming American Government: The Bicentennial Papers of the Committee on the Constitutional System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Pr. Inc., 1985, \$13.95 pb) is a series of essays collected by Donald L. Robinson, ranging from Woodrow Wilson's 1879 article, "Cabinet Government in the U.S.," to contemporary suggestions on reform.

Videotape

Librarians interested in relief from the flow of print might consider ordering *The Constitution at 200: Why Does It Still Work* (Mt. Kisco, NY: Prentice-Hall Media/Associated Pr., 1985, VHS/Beta \$179), a videotape recommended by Nancy Z. Spillman in her article "Cornerstones of a Video Collection" (*Library Journal*, November 15, 1986, p. 40).

*The excerpt from the BARC bibliography is reprinted from *BARC Notes*, January 1987. Single copies of the complete bibliography are available from BARC, San Francisco Public Library, Civic Center, San Francisco, CA 94102. Enclose a self-addressed stamped (39¢) envelope.



Clay Jenkinson will appear as Thomas Jefferson at the Legislative Reception on May 28

Jefferson and the Candid World by Clay Jenkinson

Jefferson's critics condemn him as an elusive revolutionary, possibly even a poser, a mere rhetorician. Nobody denies that he had what John Adams called a "peculiar felicity of expression," but not everybody agrees that he either earned the right to be the mouthpiece of the revolution or that he was prepared to live in the world he envisioned. Jefferson was an absentee revolutionary. He nearly missed his opportunity to write for the Second Continental Congress a declaration of its independence from Great Britain. He sat out the war in his fortress of solitude at Monticello. While the founders hammered out a compromise constitution in Philadelphia, Jefferson quietly collected rare books in Paris.

Jefferson was no stained glass saint. What we know of his personal life suggests that the struggle between his head and his heart was not always fought in the arena of reasonable words. He was capable of political malfeasance and a disregard for the civil rights of his enemies. His utopian vision was extraordinary but not without a startling blindness to the natural rights of women and black Americans. His golden words of liberty and revolution seem often to cast a shadow on his actual behavior. The gap between his pure articulation of a republic of common humanity and the facts of his biography is perhaps inevitable. Few humans have stretched human expectations of a just and happy world so high. But every student of Jefferson's achievement discovers again that man and vision were not one. Good sense dictates that we acknowledge the distinction without losing respect for either the limited man or the unbounded dream.

Jefferson was not afraid of change. He was an exemplar of the Enlightenment, which believed that nothing was sacred. The history of the world was the history of superstition, irrationality, muddle-headedness, abuse of wealth and power, unjustifiable political and economic systems, and continual fear. There was little in all this worthy of respect. Jefferson could not understand why conservative minds wanted to cling to the palpable failures of the past. Why not simply rethink everything with the help of the only legitimate oracle, reason? The "Enlightenment" implied two great promises: a more confident humanity would shine the light of good sense into all the dark corridors of existence and cease to be afraid of the metaphysical ghosts of the night; and a more rational and just order of things would lighten the burden of existence for the mass of men and women.

Jefferson understood that in a world of exuberant change mistakes would be made, excesses would be bound to occur. He also knew that democracy was risky business, that the people are not always well informed, that they do not always respect the rights of the minority, they frequently choose the wrong men to represent them, that they are subject at times to dangerous fits of enthusiasms. Nevertheless Jefferson believed that republican democracy was better than the alternatives. In his first inaugural address, he stated his principle succinctly: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

Laurence Tribe Gives Bicentennial Talk at McGeorge School of Law

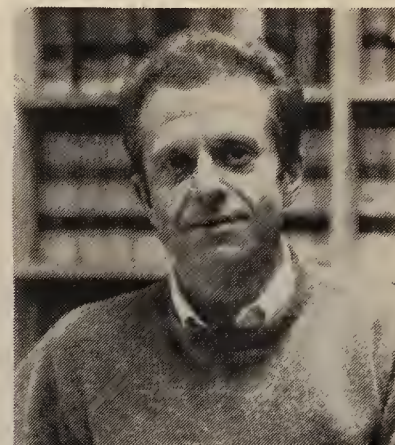
Calling upon Americans to view the Constitution as a promise rather than a yellowing parchment under glass, Laurence H. Tribe, the Ralph S. Tyler, Jr., Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard University Law School, was conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws at Bicentennial ceremonies at McGeorge School of Law, Sacramento, on Friday, March 27.

In his talk entitled, "Bicentennial Blues: To Praise the Constitution or To Bury It," Tribe argued that strict constructionists view the Constitution as a set of constrictions or rules rather than a set of principles or concepts. If we could ask the framers today, he said, what we ought to do about surrogate motherhood, for example, they would tell us to simply apply the concepts they have given us.

Only if we work together to apply the Constitution and to live up to the principles that they have bequeathed to us, Tribe stated, can we properly celebrate the Bicentennial. If instead we wave the Constitution in the air like a flag, offering incantations to it, we might as well bury it.

In his speech Tribe reviewed several examples from American judicial history. In the Dred Scott case and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, he stated, the majority of the judiciary found slavery and separate-but-equal laws consistent with the Constitution. It was not until 1937 that a revolution took place in the courts, he said, "without a shot being fired," applying the Constitution to women and minors in the workplace.

The Warren court applied the Constitution to those accused of criminal charges and to those states which until then had not allowed former slaves to vote. At present, he argued, the Constitution is threatened by a President who makes secret international treaties and makes appointments of those who would not practice judicial restraint and who argue that the Constitution must return to the body of common law from the 17th and 18th centuries, guaranteeing "liberty of contract" and ignoring legal precedent since 1937.



Laurence H. Tribe, the Ralph S. Tyler, Jr., Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard University Law School

Following Tribe's talk the Doctor of Laws degree was conferred by President Stanley E. McCaffrey, President of the University of the Pacific, with which McGeorge School of Law is affiliated, and by Mr. Eugene McGeorge, grandson of the founder of the school and member of the Board of Directors. Remarks by Dean Gordon D. Schaber of the Law School acknowledged the fine work of the McGeorge faculty, which has made possible, Schaber noted, the honoring of the school with a chapter of The Order of the Coif, the third private law school in the state to receive such an honor.

The lecture hall where Professor Tribe's degree was conferred is the site of the California Council for the Humanities' Bicentennial Convocation on Friday, May 28, at 8 p.m. The public is cordially invited. A reception will follow the convocation.

Scholars in the Schools Handbook Available

For eight years, from 1978 to 1986, the CCH sponsored *Humanists-in-the-Schools (HIS)* projects in twelve school districts throughout the state. The purpose of the project was to place humanities scholars in residence at high schools for at least two days a week. The scholars worked with a team of teachers from the humanities departments at the schools and planned and conducted a variety of learning activities: lectures, independent study, field trips, inservice activities for teachers, and special events such as film festivals or history fairs.

The HIS program was successful from the start and was cited in the 1980 report of the Commission on the Humanities sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation as a model that has "made considerable progress in improving the humanities in the schools." In 1986 the project, now re-named *Scholars in the Schools (SIS)*, was accepted by the National Diffusion Network as one of their *Educational Program that Work*.

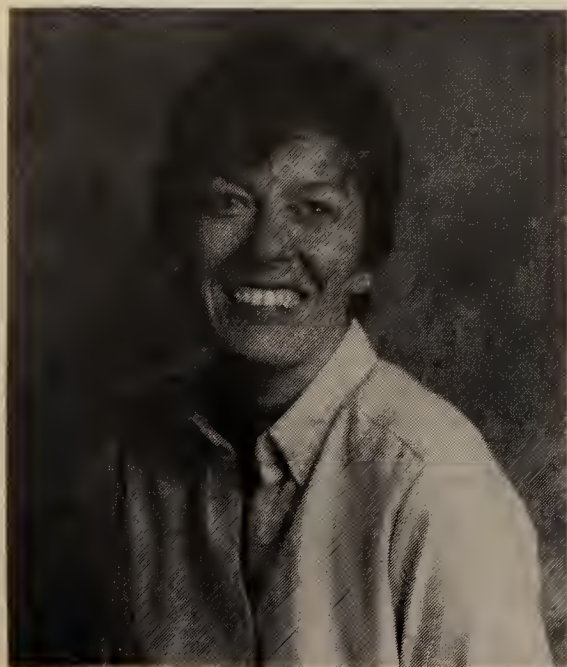
Two publications about this successful educational program are now available from CCH:

SIS Implementation Handbook (87 pp): a description of the CCH model that was used at twelve sites, including staff requirements, program costs and sample activities; a description of the planning, monitoring, and evaluation activities required to implement such a program at a new site.

SIS Project Site Reports (48 pp): descriptions of the key features, specific activities, results and recommendations made by staff at each of the twelve project sites; numerous specific examples of staffing patterns and learning activities that would be useful to potential adopters.

Evaluation of the SIS project and production of the handbooks was made possible by grants from the San Francisco Foundation and the Atlantic Richfield Foundation.

A limited number of single copies of the two books are available for \$10 from the CCH San Francisco office, 312 Sutter St., Suite 601, San Francisco, 94108. No multiple orders please.



Ann Garry, Professor of Philosophy at California State University, Los Angeles, is newest Council member



Henry Edridge, *William Wordsworth*, pencil drawing (The Wordsworth Trust, Grasmere, England)

Wordsworth Exhibit Available/Proposals Sought

CCH invites interested organizations to apply for grants to support community programs centered around a special poster-panel exhibit, "William Wordsworth and the Age of English Romanticism." The poster-panel exhibit of 24 full-color panels will be available for loan to groups in California who wish to organize public events around this exhibit. The 24 panels feature color reproductions of famous paintings by Turner, Constable, and other Romantic artists, portraits of the Romantic poets, reproductions of manuscripts and books, poetic texts, brief narratives and labels.

The subjects covered in the panels are:

- The Age of Revolutions—Political and Industrial
- Wordsworth's Contemporaries (Burns, Blake, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats)
- The Discovery of Nature
- Unity Entire: Simplicity and the Commonplace
- Memory, Imagination and the Sublime

The panels may be self-mounted or displayed in any number of ways at schools, colleges, libraries, or the lobbies of public buildings. Interested organizations might consider applying for minigrants of up to \$1,000 to mount public events around the exhibit. For more ambitious projects, organizations could apply for Council funds at the July 1 or October 1 deadlines in 1987 or the April 1988 deadline. Such projects might include reading/discussion programs, museum exhibits and discussions, poetry readings, or a lecture series. Any non-profit organization is eligible to apply.

CCH Welcomes New Member

The Council is pleased to welcome as its newest member Dr. Ann Garry, Professor of Philosophy at California State University, Los Angeles. Dr. Garry has been at CSU Los Angeles since 1969. She graduated magna cum laude from Monmouth College in Illinois in 1965, received her M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1966 and her Ph.D. from the University of Maryland in 1970. Dr. Garry has been active in a number of professional organizations, serving on committees for the American Philosophical Association, the Society for Women in Philosophy, the American Association of University Professors, and the United Professors of California. She cites as her fields of specialization: Contemporary Moral Issues, Feminist Philosophy, and Philosophy of Mind. We are delighted that Dr. Garry has agreed to serve on the Council and we look forward to working with her.

Library Program Honors Golden Gate Bridge Workers

A special program honoring the workers who built the Golden Gate Bridge and their unions will be presented in the reading room of The Sutro Library branch of the California State Library, on *Sunday, May 17, at 2 o'clock*. Bridge builders will tell their stories, vintage footage of Bridge construction from the 1930s will be screened by the Video Development Corporation, and labor folklorist Archie Green and historian Charles Wollenberg will discuss the meaning of the Bridge for the workers and to Bay Area history. The program is free and open to the public although reservations are required and may be made by calling the Labor Archives in San Francisco at (415) 564-4010.

During the months of May and June, a major exhibit on all phases of the construction of the Bridge from 1933 to 1937 will be on display at The Sutro Library and Labor Archives. Photographs and memorabilia from both collections will fill fourteen cases. One unusual item will be a photograph album compiled by the mother of laborer Fred Dummatzen who died in the accident of February 1937 when the roadbed stripping platform fell into the safety net. Photographs of Fred from baby through boyhood including one of him on the job 720 feet above the Golden Gate, were recently donated to the Labor Archives.

The exhibit and special program are part of "Bridges To History," a project sponsored by the 50th Anniversary Celebration Office of the Friends of the Golden Gate Bridge. "Bridges to History" is funded by the California Council for the Humanities, the Labor Foundation, and Ironworkers, Local 377.

The Labor Archives and Research Center was established in 1984 to collect and preserve historical material relating to the working lives of men and women in Northern California and their unions. It is open for research by appointment.

Both the Sutro Library and the Labor Archives are located at 480 Winston Drive, San Francisco, between Stonestown Shopping Mall and Lake Merced. The exhibit at The Sutro Library may be viewed Mondays, 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.; and Tuesdays through Saturdays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and at the Labor Archives, Monday through Friday, 1 to 5 p.m.



Bridgeworker Fred Dummatzen on the job 720 feet above the Golden Gate (Labor Archives and Research Center, San Francisco State University)

"Lemon Grove Incident" Wins Ohio State Award

"The Lemon Grove Incident," a KPBS-produced docu-drama, has been awarded the prestigious Ohio State Award for excellence in educational, informational and public affairs broadcasting. The award is given by the Institute for Education by Radio-Television at Ohio State University and is one of broadcasting's oldest and most respected honors.

"The Lemon Grove Incident" was one of 82 radio and television productions, both foreign and domestic, honored by the 1987 awards. This year's award ceremony was held April 8 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

The film, which concerns the nation's first successful legal challenge to school segregation, was produced by Paul Espinosa and funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, PBS and KPBS, San Diego and the California Council for the Humanities.

Sacramento History Center Receives Award of Merit

The Sacramento History Center has won an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History for its "Community Gallery." This award is one of the most prestigious means of recognizing local history achievement. Twenty-three awards were given to individuals, institutions and historical organizations across the United States and Canada.

The project on the ethnic communities in the Sacramento Area also scored high in the competition for the Helen and Martin Schwartz Prize, a national award which recognizes exceptional state council projects. The project, funded by the California Council for the Humanities, was cited for its "creative use of traditional format," that is, "an exhibit expanded into a veritable research library by use of computers."

For more information about this project, contact Kathryn Gaeddert, Sacramento History Center, 101 "I" Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Proposal-Writing Workshops

The *San Francisco CCH office* will offer proposal-writing workshops for CCH grant applicants on Tuesday, May 19, and Thursday, May 21. The workshops will be held from 10 a.m. to noon in the conference room of the second floor of the World Affairs Building, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

Workshop participants must telephone the CCH office to register (415/391-1474). Registration is limited to twelve persons. Participants are encouraged to read the CCH program announcement and to come to the workshop with rough drafts of their applications and proposals. There is no fee for the workshop.

The *Los Angeles CCH office* will offer its proposal-writing workshops on Wednesday, May 20, and Thursday, May 21. Please call the office to sign up in advance (213/482-9048).

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Exhibits					
through May 16	"The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region," a traveling exhibit sponsored by the Santa Cruz City Museum and Cabrillo College will be at the Pajaro Valley Gallery, Porter Bldg., 280 Main St., WATSONVILLE through May 16. Gallery hours are 2-4 p.m., Tuesday through Saturday.	April 25	"Made in USA Symposium" at Wheeler Auditorium on the UC BERKELEY campus beginning at 9 a.m. The symposium is in conjunction with the exhibit at the University Art Museum through June 21. The museum hours are 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., Sunday through Wednesday. (415) 642-1209	May 7	"The Readable Victorians — Wilkie Collins, Anthony Trollope and Others," lecture by Diane Johnson, 155 Dwinelle Hall, UC BERKELEY, 8 p.m. (\$8 general; \$5 student) (415) 642-9988
through May 31	"Stories from China's Past," an exhibit of Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China, will be at the Chinese Culture Center, 750 Kearny St., SAN FRANCISCO, through May 31. Gallery hours are 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Tuesday through Sunday. (415) 986-1822	April 29	"Hidden Village Worlds: Southeast Asian Artists, Farmers, and Immigrants," lecture by Eric Crystal, anthropologist, at MODESTO Junior College, 7 p.m., Forum 110. (415) 642-3608	May 11	Ukiah Players perform "A More Perfect Union" at California History Day, Sacramento Convention Center, 1100 14th St. (at "J"). (213) 487-5590
		April 30	"Distant Mountains, Different Neighbors: Mien and Hmong Peoples Here and Abroad," lecture by Eric Crystal at MERCED Community College, 7 p.m., Library One. (415) 642-3608	May 12	Ukiah Players perform "A More Perfect Union" at CSU Sacramento, Music Recital Hall, 6000 "J" St., 3:30 p.m. (916) 278-6906
Lectures					
April 23	"The Quest for Full Citizenship," a reading and discussion program on the U.S. Constitution by Cynthia Hamilton and Carole Srole of California State University, Los Angeles. 7:30-9:00 p.m. at the Montebello Public Library, 1550 W. Beverly, MONTEBELLO. (213) 722-6551	May 6	"From Indochina to California: Images of Culture in Transition," lecture by Chung H. Chuong at MODESTO Junior College, 7 p.m., Forum 110. (415) 642-3608	May 13	Ukiah Players perform "A More Perfect Union" at Sacramento City College, 3835 Freeport Blvd. (916) 449-7386
April 25	"Ethnic Contributions to California Agriculture," lecture by Ann F. Scheuring, Oral Historian, 10 a.m., at International House, 10 College Park, DAVIS. \$1.00 (916) 753-5007	May 7	"Highland Arts: A Lecture Demonstration on Hmong Culture and Music" by Amy Catlin, UCLA, at MERCED Community College, 7 p.m., Library One. (415) 642-3608	May 16	"The Capitol and Ethnic Politics," lecture by Marvin Brienens, 10 a.m., at International House, 10 College Park, DAVIS. \$1.00. See related exhibit at I-house from April 28-May 16. (916) 753-5007
				May 17	Sutro Library program honoring Golden Gate Bridge workers, 2:00 p.m. at 480 Winston Drive, San Francisco. (See article on p. 7 for full program) (415) 564-4010
				May 30	"Architecture in Central California," lecture by John Snyder and Aaron Gallup, architectural historians, 10 a.m., at International House, 10 College Park, DAVIS. \$1.00. See related exhibit at I-House from May 19-May 30. (916) 753-5007.

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NEXT PROPOSAL DEADLINE: July 1, 1987

Proposals for these deadlines must conform to the 1987 Program Announcement. Send 10 copies of all proposals (14 copies of media proposals) to the San Francisco office by the due date.

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NETWORK

Reflections on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution

The opportunity for commemoration provides the opportunity for remembering, for recalling the past and taking stock of the conditions and circumstances which have guided us to where we are.

The opportunity of the Bicentennial is ripe for state humanities programming, in part because state humanities councils walk where angels fear to tread. Understanding history? Discussing a text? Looking toward issues which have guided us in the past and which may inspire us for the future? The Constitution is, after all, a text, and no doubt more than that, a process and a symbol. The Bicentennial provides us the opportunity to glimpse a world of scholarship where political, legal, historical, and philosophical thinkers have spent lifetimes exploring the values that offer authority, the values by which we think we ought to live.

Remembering would not be enough without reassessment. What changes have happened, and, more importantly, why? What can we learn and what can we take from the Constitution? How are we a part of it: Does the Constitution guide us? Do we affect it or authorize it? Do we abide by the law or live under it?

The United States, after all, has been a kind of experiment, as any endeavor in public life, guided by discussion and debate, must be. This occasion provides the perfect opportunity for public humanities debates on civil authority, law, history, and ethics. This is the opportunity not just to observe, appreciate, or even celebrate the Constitution, but to question, to re-evaluate, to ask how it ought to and whether it affects our lives today.

The Council has taken this opportunity to provide a series of forums to the people of the Sacramento area. It is in part a symbolic act, highlighting the geographic area of the state which is the

seat of government; but it is also a sincere act, for the Council hopes to serve the communities of the valleys and mountains as well as the coast.

I personally hope that people are re-awakened to a cognizance not only of scholarship but of their part in the great American tradition of question and reform. Simply becoming aware of the Constitution would not be an act fully commemorative, for as a citizen one must take part and think harder of what principles ought to guide our lives as a community. I happen to be the person on staff who made the phone calls and drafted letters. I welcome you to the events themselves and hope that something of intellectual excitement happens to you through one or more of the events that we have planned, something that brings the Constitution home to our hearts. What is the Constitution anyway? What's so good about it? How do we know when we are living by it, or living up to it?

—Caitlin Croughan
Associate Director
CCH

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The California Council for the Humanities is
a state-based affiliate of the National
Endowment for the Humanities